1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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593 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

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854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

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861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks: they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and your don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age. When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are *really* love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this, she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

863 Diapers are exchanged for training pants at about six
• [854] or seven months of age. These are not closed at the crotch and when the child squats, gape wide, allowing elimination without soiling. When the child is finished feeding or gets an expression on his face that mothers come to recognize, he is held gently in a sitting position suspended over a ditch while mother squats but she will wait only a few minutes. Instead of threats for not eliminating, the child will be coaxed and praised and petted if he eliminates. Full control is not expected until he is over two years of age so his messes are cleaned regularly without open expression of crossness.

Children

593 The relations between mother and child are usually warm and intimate and remain so all throughout life while the relations between father and child are more formal and distant. It is mothers who are expected to know and understand the children's wishes and serve as a buffer between a boy and his father. For example, a working boy who is turning all his money over to his father might desire a watch but he is unlikely to ask his father for one. He can convey his desire to mother indirectly, mother will suggest it to father, and father will present a watch or money for a watch to his son as if it were his own idea.

855 Older children take care of younger siblings. Women
889 and children carry children around strapped to their backs
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and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is variable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described, the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife normally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to